1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

the achievements of others. It has an external sanction in the social abandonment which in some degree always accompanies public shame. The sense of guilt, on the other hand, is the consequence of acts which defy the commandments of God, whether they concern the relations between man and God, or social responsibilities that follow from common membership in a group. The external sanction against sin is the punishment inflicted by God and sometimes by a social group. An act may, of course, provoke both a sense of guilt and feelings of shame. Which term will be used depends on whether the act is more generally regarded under the aspect of transgression, or of failure to live up to an ideal pattern of behaviour. Ancestral sin, however, arouses no sense of guilt. Sensuality and envy are not individual transgressions. Yet the first of these sins must be disciplined and the second, at least, prevented from becoming the guiding principle of a man's actions. But this discipline is a matter of relative success or failure, and therefore of shame not guilt.

In this way the Sarakatsani, through their view of ancestral sin, reconcile the nobility of man with his sinfulness. Nobility depends on the struggle of the individual to achieve ideal patterns of being and behaviour. The sins which produce feelings of individual guilt and, therefore, qualify the nobility of his nature, do not constitute an impressive list, and they are transgressions which the Sarakatsani do not easily commit. On the other hand, the ancestral sins recognized by the Sarakatsani are general forms of sin which the Orthodox Church holds to be peculiarly grave and, moreover, sins which the Sarakatsani are continually committing; in the instance of sensuality because they are human, and in the case of envy because the social institutions and values encourage it. Yet the Sarakatsanos avoids any personal responsibility for these sins by insisting that they are exterior to his individual will. They corrupt the condition in which he must live, but not the potentialities of his nature. Sensuality was the consequence of Adam's sin, not his. Envy was the sin of the Devil in his act of rebellion against God. Many Sarakatsani are able to explain these details, all are aware, at least, that these sins have been part of the human condition since the moment of the Fall, a condition against which a man must certainly struggle, but

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182 81 As for Sarakatsani knowledge, we must recall that it is dominated by utilitarianism, the advantages that may be derived from it, and not by disinterestedness. A struggler is not a contemplator, and the Sarakatsani are strugglers (isolation, herding). For their society and their kind of life, "scientific" research would be a luxury, aside from the fact that they lack the means to attain the knowledge that they lack. On the other hand, Sarakatsani knowledge is relevant to both /383/ material life (technology, crafts and herding) and the social man; it carries the two-fold concern of ensuring man's subsistence and organizing him more effectively economically as well as socially (kinship, cooperation, etc.). Moreover, the Sarakatsani have need of a certain 182 812 ideology capable of justifying their condition and of leading to a mythologizing of certain aspects of their existence which is all the more necessary since their life is beset with difficulties. Their constant struggle, their sacrifice and solidarity, their austere regime, etc., can be maintained only if these things are idealized and surrounded with myth. When you ask a Sarakatsani to look down on his life and express judgments about it, you are astonished to hear him idealize his condition even in its least attractive aspects.

182 787 755 (789) The limitations of knowledge, as we have noted, encourage the appeal to cosmological and anthropological myth, which is expressed, as we have also said, in curative magic and a partial syncretism with Christianity. The subjects that dominate these two spheres of ideas and the practices derived from them are fecundity, fertility, abundance, prosperity, health, protection against evil influences, finally foretelling the future, and these with respect to men as well as animals. The practices in question therefore protect the family and the kingroup, economic life and resources, in fact the entire community. This point opens the way

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121 Every society, and therefore the society of our herders, has an anthropology of its own, a collective work and consequently a social phenomenon which, though not entirely conscious, nevertheless exists. It is expressed in anthropological ideas, in the strict sense, in the socio-cultural molding of individuals, in the socially accepted latitude that permits a man to develop his initiative, in the organization, in the broad sense, of social life conceived as an instrument from which the individual will benefit, finally in the content and extent of the value that man represents for it.

/408/ We believe that these points will suffice for us to accomplish our task. And we hope that knowledge of the action will enable us, in addition, to lift the mask behind which the face of the actor is hidden.

* * * *

121 812 991 Sarakatsani anthropological ideas are familiar to us. Man, like the grain, grows, blossoms, begets descendants and dies. Born from the earth, he returns to the earth from whence spring powerful creative forces so that a new life may see the light. Death is for him a natural phenomenon that must be faced with courage. But he believes in the life hereafter described by Christianity, in which the soul may enjoy eternal rest if his life has conformed to the Christian prescription and if, in addition, the living faithfully follow on his behalf both Christian and pre-Christian funeral customs and usages. All these ideas also bear profound traces of a religious syncretism which we need not discuss again.

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Man is not completely defenseless before nature and the supernatural. Aside from technology, he is acquainted with ways of exerting his influence on them so that both will consent to favor to him. Nevertheless, man trembles before nature and the supernatural because of his weakness, without however sinking into despair, discouragement or inaction. On the contrary,

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121 812 771 he must show himself courageous and make use of all procedures likely to incline these forces in the desired direction. A dramatic colloquy, but full of nobility and human dignity

121 812 829 462 However, man must mold himself to the requirements of his environment. A profound dichotomy thereupon enters into the criteria for molding--a dichotomy based on sex. The men, on the one hand, and the women, on the other, must each develop certain skills, aptitudes, virtues, knowledge and beliefs chosen from "the arc of possible behavior." (1)

1. According to the formula of R. Benedict: Echantillons de civilisations, p. 281.--
See also M. Mead: Moeurs et sexualité, p. 268.

121 829 462 The following table gives us a concise idea of them:

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TABLE

Faculties to be developed	Men	Women
Technical skills.....	Herding, wood crafts.	Building, weaving, housework
Economic & administrative skills.....	Productions, trade, management of family property, spirit of cooperation, patriarchal type of command, righteousness.	Consumption, spirit of cooperation, obedience control of girls.
Virtues.....	Pride, independence, communal spirit, conformism, traditionalism. Sobriety, austerity. Good family fathers. Warriors.	the same. In addition: chastity, absolute submission to the men. Good mothers of family.
Magico-religious aptitudes.....	Very limited, relating to certain rites as shepherds or males (sexual content of rite).	Almost exclusive protagonists of the magico-religious ritual.